595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
589 as the Ud Besseba^c, essentially polygamous. A recent study has even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden! Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective storehouse/ flourishes (1).

1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A, [See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]
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/35 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy, but in an extremely old epoch. What is therefore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a [171] fortiori among the Ud Besseba[c] Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

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In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced, before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habitat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through. If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own. [593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the [591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

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There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
24 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
22 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

/111 cont./

231 the acorn of the holm oak, abuhu, the berry of the juniper,
222 abelhas, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips, akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous practices (1).

1. But this lucerne, lfesst, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (poa bulbosa), maintained in the "damp meadow," az'mu. The mowing of the az'mu intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called tàg^{w}last, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (àg^{w}las). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu, Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
[343] storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
[554] culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole" or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrur and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity. They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign. Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in superimposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

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241 237 343 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual appurtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the impression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is certain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such insolation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

245 824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect spontaneity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla /165/ est oleis cultura..., and he passes to the trees and wild bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant, with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transition between the one type and the other: for example, the carob, with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn, which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat. We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

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121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," ikchchuden or alwâh', material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

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1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerwalt, Greniers-citadelles... /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

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/•Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

1: Berque--647 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Plate III. The house.

(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards, loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

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Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

(1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa; (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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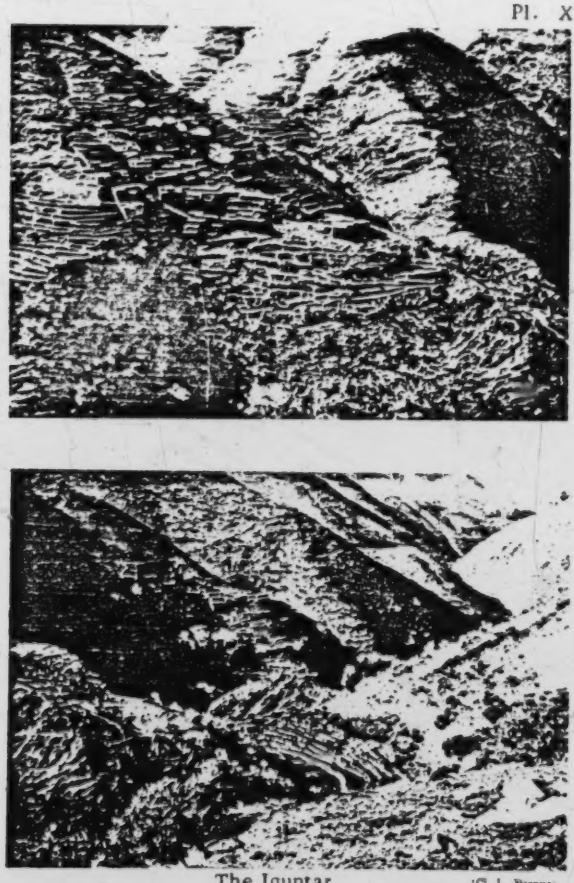

The Iguntar (G. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

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361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Ait Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in

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*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 712 [632] domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Teſwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the [343] [251] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects [651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground [697] vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

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175 *631 *634 /footnote 1 continued/ his strength, whereas the moqaddem (pl. moqaddemin) is elected or designated in turn from among the notables.

Higher still, this chief was no more than a magistrate elected for a year, the "moqaddem," who served as arbitrator in disputes. In [178] the most remote valleys these small republics had kept intact all [671] the institutions that we were still able to find near the summits, [652] an oral or written customary law, a treasury enlarged by the fines [712] imposed on the guilty, and old fortresses known by the name of "agadir," which served both as a collective storehouse during the peace and as a refuge in the internal wars.

• [343] Such was the political state of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ until 1860, at the beginning of Sultan Sidi Mohammed's reign, which the oldest old men still remember. Since that time the stages of the transformation of the country are in all the memories. The conquests of the kaids of the Mtougga began after the fall of their enemy El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi in 1868. They were seen to advance by the trail of the Tizi Maʿcho and try for a time to take over the richest tribes of the upper valley of the Sous. Then the amghars of Tagontaft, freed by a revolt from the authority exercised over them by the kaids of Agergour, conquered the upper valley of the Nefis before being recognized in turn in their capacity as kaids of the Makhzen in 1876.

175 *631 The reign of the sultan Moulay el Hasan was like a period of contemplation during which the new chiefs prepared their intrigues. Upon his death, by means of the anarchy, the Demsira, the Dwiran, Aghbar, the Aït Semmeg, Onein were defeated by the masters of Bouaboud or Tagontaft, taken away from their sheiks of former times, and handed over to exacting masters who ceaselessly demanded /135/ money and warriors in order to undertake new wars. The tribes already subject to the kaids of the Dir, Ouzgita, Gedmiwa, Mzouda, were in turn annexed to the great commands, and greedy caliphates foreign to the country were substituted for the traditional sheiks, easier to satisfy because they were closer to their subjects.

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/footnote 3 continued/ des Haha /Social and domestic organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, Rens. coloniaux /Colonial information/, p. 9. Actually made up of several family groups ("ikhs") of diverse origins, the "mouda^{c}" has less importance and cohesion in the independent regions than the fraction.

One must bear in mind, in order to evaluate the observations made by Doutté in the north of the Haha, that the country described by him had long ago been transformed by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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and which in our administrative terminology we call the subfraction. A "Friday mosque" in which passing strangers come to ask for hospitality, an "agadir" or collective storehouse, in the regions where this /152/ institution has been preserved, and especially the existence of a "jema^{c}a," assembly of all the men able to bear arms, such are the institutions of the "mouda^{c}."

The political activity of this little group is almost nil. In the independent tribes, the "mouda^{c}" most often is only an administrative division that permits dividing up local duties: turn at hospitality in order to feed strangers, turn at feeding the taleb, manure or tillage corvée, repair of séguias. Each "mouda^{c}" possesses, finally, in the vicinity of the hamlets, its grazing lands, its forest of brushwood, where people lay in supplies of wood for heating and which is cleared by fire when one wishes to take a chance on a harvest of barley on unirrigated lands. This is not a question of collective lands of the tribe, but rather of joint family-goods. A stranger to the "mouda^{c}" would not be able to settle there without permission, and when, in rainy years, these uncultivated lands are worth the trouble of being cleared and sown, one sees each family hurry to claim its part of them.

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000 their internal peace, the suspicious deliberations of the assemblies suffice to drive any great thought from the minds of the family heads; they keep them in the narrow circle of patriarchal laws that are the strength and the weakness of Berbérie /Barbary/.

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Chapter V
The Republican Organization (continued): the Economic Institutions

I. The hospitality. -- II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- III. Absence of collective properties. -- IV. The markets and the fairs. -- V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past.
VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.

121 181 171 The analogies that we have found between the political organization of the small republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, of the Sous plain, and of the Anti-Atlas and those of the other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ appear in most of the economic institutions. Hospitality, protection of foreigners, organization of common meals, mutual aid for plowing and harvests, regulation of the markets give in particular to the populations of the South of Morocco the occasion to exercise, like their Kabyle brothers, their spirit of fellowship and their natural aptitudes for the fair division of the burdens and benefits of social life.

121 343 While doubtless one should not expect to observe in the region of the Sous, because of the slight density of the population, an activity as intense as in the villages of the Djurjura, we shall at least see how the institution of the "agadirs," storehouses that all the inhabitants of a hamlet, of a "mouda[c]," or of a canton use at the same time, sharply bears witness to the necessities of existence in common and a cleverness in collective organization that perhaps has not been surpassed in the rest of North Africa.

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/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

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V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

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Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

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2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

2: Montagne--341 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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/footnote 2 continued/ Ou Tanan; of casbah of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the kaid in the plain of the Sous and on the Dir of the Atlas. On the Saharan versant of the Anti-Atlas, it designates a small chamber for provisions placed in a corner tower of the house (Amanouz tribe). It is also used generally throughout the Sous with the meaning of solidly constructed wall.

The same word reappears as toponym in the western Rif in the form "Ajdir," near Alhucémas and in the north of the Gzennaya; one also finds Agadir, quarter of the town of Ouezzan, Agadir, quarter of Tlemcen (Marçais, Les Monuments de Tlemcen /The Monuments of Tlemcen/, p. 132); in Kabylie /Kabylia/ it signifies rock, sheer wall, inaccessible spot (Huyghe, Dict. Kabyle-fr. /Kabyle-French Dictionary/, 2nd ed., p. 17). The word appears to be of Punic origin (Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, I, 319).

Among the Aït Waouzgit, the Souktana of the Sous, the Glawa, the collective storehouse takes the name of igherm (pl. igherman); "tighremt" (pl. tighermatin) is a fortified house. "Igherm" designates in the western Atlas (Aghbar) a cultivated terrace supported by a dry-stone wall, and among the Haha a low dry-stone wall to protect the riflemen in combat. /The following paragraph is on the next page in the original source./

Finally, among most of the transhumant Berbère /Berber/ populations of central Morocco, the name of Ighrem is given to the permanent habitation, to the house serving as storehouse for provisions and as enclosure for the large livestock.

•343 /254/ They are large square houses, provided on the exterior with a single door that leads to a central courtyard onto which open four or five floors of small rooms. Access to each [417] of them is by a crude ladder carved in a tree trunk in "y" shape and by suspended passageways -- "isfoula" -- that run from one room to another. Sometimes a complete "isfoula" passageway even turns like a spiral along the four interior façades so as to run between all the floors of the agadir.

Each household possesses a variable number of rooms in the collective storehouse, two or three on the average, utilized especially for storing grain. The door of the agadir usually stays open during the day; the key is kept indiscriminately by the one of the inhabitants who comes first to use it in the morning, for there is no guard designated by the community. The hamlet [712] "agadir" is nothing like a fortress; used by a small group of households, it has the appearance of a familial storehouse. Most often the construction is ancient and the walls are falling in ruins; new storehouses have not been built any more for a long time, it seems. In many hamlets of the Deren, they are entirely ruined and are not restored. Thus the use of these little storehouses tends to be lost, and each one becomes accustomed more and more to keeping his harvests and his provisions in his own house.

343 184 [632] [621] * [634] But there exist also in the same regions other, larger agadirs in which a whole "mouda^{c}" or sometimes even a "taqbilt" comes to put its grain under shelter. This institution is still very much alive among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, in some cantons of the Seksawa, and among the Aït Gaïr and Aït Tigidar of the mountain Gedmiwa. In the region of the summits of the Sirwa these 343 large storehouses, remaining more numerous, often take on the 712 aspect of fortresses. Then they are large rectangular constructions 184 that enclose three or four floors of chambers for provisions; they are flanked for defense by two or four carefully placed corner towers. The agadirs of the Aït Waouzgit, built on positions easy to defend, surrounded by a rampart behind which is found the mosque, the storehouse of the jema^{c}a, that of the marabouts, /255/ the rest chambers for the guard, and a house reserved for the deliberations of the notables, truly concentrate all the social

/255 cont./

•343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
*[634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors [625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda[6]" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

343 712 184 [127] /footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

343 712 182 [443] [463] [571] [625] So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "ʿOmmal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated 343 712 182 671 571 juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

343 57 554 The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

/256 cont./

343 571 554 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utilization of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside. The "ᶜommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meetings [578] they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against 343 571 554 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some foundation, for the "ᶜommal" must be united under all circum- 683 stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in them by the people for the administration of their property." As for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give to the "ᶜommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay large fines.

343 571 554 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ᶜommal," having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to remain united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indispensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the material life of the users depends each day on the administration of the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of the "ᶜommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, almost unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circumstances," we read, "the ᶜommal, when they have made a decision by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/257 cont./

343 571 554 683 Moreover, it is important to defend the sentences of the "ᶜommal" against all foreign interference. The justice of the chraᶜ /sharᶜ, sharia; canonical law of Islam/ has nothing to do with their affairs, and one who says that the "louh" is only childish stuff and cannot serve for judging people lies and accuses the notables of errors; and that is as serious as accusing God himself of lying, because the notables are as sacred as the "louh," and every question not foreseen in the "louh" is consigned to their minds. The "louh" and the notables are as one. He who does not admit it will have to pay 50 dinars!

343 571 554 [574] [671] Under these conditions one understands that the leaders of the fortress naturally come to regard the "louh" and the fortress itself as their own property. It is necessary to offer them a meal in order to have the right to take cognizance of the collection of customary law, of which they are the sole holders. They claim that their competence extends to all circumstances of the common life, and there is scarcely anything but the repression of murder, doubtless reserved for the common ᶜorf of the fractions, that escapes them. They keep the better part of all the fines that they collect, and the agadir treasury receives a part only if it is a matter of a quarrel or theft.

[434] [681] [652] The "ᶜommal," by the spirit of their deliberations, thus constitute a small privileged senate, made up of rich men who exploit as they like the capital deposited in the agadir by the tribe. [556] [471] On the other hand, they guarantee the safety of the deposits and facilitate all /258/ the complicated transactions that a skillful legislation, whose secret they have, permits realizing.

[186] Such juridical monuments give the Berbères /Berbers/ pride in these spontaneous creations of the genius of their race. Just as people cite the best-constructed agadirs and take their arrangement as a model when it becomes necessary to build, by general corvée, a new fortress, so do they copy, while adapting them, the best-known "louh." Those of Tammellokt to the south of Tlout, of Tamalout of the Id Nouh in the Sirwa, of Ajarif or of Tasgent of the Ilalen are among the most famous.

/258 cont./

343 184 178 VI. Development of the institution of agadirs in the past. -- The institution of agadirs in the form that we have described, whether it is a matter of simple storehouses of hamlets or of "mouda^{c}," like those of the Deren, or of large fortresses in the Anti-Atlas or the Sirwa, presents in the Sous in our day signs of a profound decline. In the Atlas, agadirs appear only in the regions of the summits: in the country of the Seksawa of the high mountains, among the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Gedmiwa of the Aghbar and of the higher valleys of the Asif el Mal; among the Glawa, in the vicinity of Telwet and in some cantons of the Imeghran and of the Imegoun. In the Sirwa they exist only in the highest part of the great volcanic massif, among the Aït Tadrart, the Aït Qalla, the Aït Maghlif and Ikhozamen. Finally, in the Anti-Atlas, where they took on greater importance than anywhere else, they are nevertheless found only in the tribes included between the country of the Ida Ou Gnidif and the Aït Mzal to the West, that of the Isouktan to the East, and, on the other hand, between the Dir of the North versant and the neighboring region of the crests.

Thus one sees that the zone in which collective storehouses exist is reduced still more than that of the tribes remaining independent until our arrival in the Moroccan South, since this institution cannot be observed among the Ida Ou Tanan, the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, and on all the Saharan confines of the Dra.

343 114 The agadirs, moreover, are small enough in number so that as careful an observer as Ch. de Foucauld, in crossing the Anti-Atlas twice in 1883 -- without straying, it is true, from the /259/ principal roads -- could have failed to point them out or was entirely mistaken as to their true use (1).

1. Ch. de Foucauld, after describing "the storehouse châteaux" of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas, which are similar

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343 114 /footnote 1 continued/ to the collective storehouses of the Sous, actually says:

"To the West of Tizi n Glaoui and the Draa another method prevails, in force in the western portion of the Atlas and of the Sahara from the Draa wadi to the ocean: that of the Agadirs. There, it is no longer the village that brings together its grain in one or several châteaux, it is the tribe that stores its harvests in one or several villages. These villages bear the name of Agadir. Toward Tazenakht, I shall see them along my route replacing the tirremts." (Reconnaissance, p. 62.) This confusion between the village and the storehouse and this error about the role of the agadir are explained by the difficult conditions under which Ch. de Foucauld was traveling and by the choice of his itinerary, along which the very visible agadirs are rare.

343 178 But if the area in which one can today find collective storehouses still utilized by the Berbères /Berbers/ is much reduced in the Sous, it is easy to see that it was formerly much more extensive.

343 172 In all the western Atlas, between the Tizi n Telwet and the Tizi Maᶜcho, there exists as a matter of fact as far as the foot of the Dirs a very large number of ruins of constructions on the peaks that neighbor the hamlets and villages and whose aspect leaves no doubt whatever as to their past use. It is rare that the inhabitants still remember having seen these storehouses intact, but in the valleys of the Nefis, the Anougal, the Asif el Mal, the Asif n Qahira, they are still given the name of agadir.

343 175 926 In all the territory of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, it suffices to question the young people themselves in order for them to show you the remains of all the "ighrem" or agadirs that the conquering Glawa destroyed in 1913.

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343 178 184 361 Among the Haha, the name of agadir is given in our day to villages situated in a position easy to defend -- at points that were suitable for the building of fortresses whose traces are no longer visible. In the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, the institution has not been forgotten as much, since people still indicate the spots where the storehouses, which the most ancient old men themselves found ruined, formerly existed (2).

2. Such are the agadirs of the summit of the Jebel Aouljad, that of Imaᶜizen (agadir n Tafoukt), of Assaka (agadir n Aït ᶜAli), of Tizgi n Chorfa (agadir n Ikberdiden), of Tadrart (agadir n Aït ou Belaᶜid).

[113] [175] Let us add that Portuguese nautical instructions of the sixteenth century (R. Ricard, "La côte atlantique du Maroc au début du XVIᵉ siècle /The Atlantic Coast of Morocco at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century/," Hespéris, 1927, p. 251) point out to us on the coast of the Ida ou Tanan the châteaux of Palma, Turucuco, Tucurumu, Tamarate (Tamerakht), which are probably agadirs.

and which belonged, if one judges by their names, to villages or cantons.

343 712 184 178 [722] Even in the Anti-Atlas the large agadirs were formerly more numerous, especially in the vicinity of the Dir, so that one /260/ can assert, by invoking the appearance of the ruins or the indications of the toponymy, that all the mountain Berbère /Berber/ tribes -- with the exception perhaps of those of the Igezzoulen of the western Anti-Atlas, still poorly known -- formerly possessed fortresses constructed by the villages or cantons, within which all the families kept their provisions and came to seek refuge during wars or internal discords.

[648] The causes of the decline of this institution are doubtless numerous; the most effective one is certainly the conquest of the country by the Makhzen /makhzan/.

/260 cont./

343 712 * 634 726 [631] As a matter of fact, the fortified storehouses, in which the inhabitants of the cantons put not only their harvests, but also provisions of powder and bullets for their defense, constitute natural centers of resistance against the domination of the great chiefs of the vicinity. In order to chastise a tribe and reduce it to powerlessness, the best means is to raze its agadirs. Thus the storehouses of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas disappeared first of all, then the ones of the large valleys of the Nefis, the Ogdemt, the Asif el Mal, whose ruins are still visible. The last canton fortress that existed in the command of the kaid Gontafi was thrown down in 1925 among the Aït Tidigar, and the dream that the indocile montagnards of that little tribe have in our day is to raise its walls as soon as possible.

[195] * [631] It was the same on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas in the nineteenth century. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha, whose conquests have left so vivid a memory in the Sous, is still represented by the poets as a destroyer of agadirs:

[539] Aghennaj has passed on! His power is dead, it has been described to us,
He left ruined agadirs that never more have been filled.

His successors, El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi and Moulay Idris, did as much around Taroudant.

343 712 178 726 It is especially in the Sirwa region, where the institution of fortress-storehouses had preserved great vitality until these last years, that their disappearance has been the most rapid. In fact, the conquest by the chiefs of the Glawa had as its immediate consequence in the valleys the destruction of the agadirs of hamlets, done by /261/ order, executed in corvée by the inhabitants of the villages themselves, commanded by the mokhaznis of the conquerors, and one would find with difficulty, in the whole country thus passed through by the harkas of the Glawa, any small storehouse that escaped their vigilance. As for the more redoubtable fortresses situated in the high mountains, the caliphates of the kaid of Telwet who had succeeded in

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343 penetrating into the territory of the small republics of the sum-
712 mits profited by every occasion to make them disappear. One
178 of them was declaring to us with satisfaction that he had had the
726 luck to ruin 12 in seven years of command (1).

[175]
[669]

1. It is interesting to point out that the general decline of the institution was interrupted in the middle of the century in certain regions. The "siba" /revolt/ that marked the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman in 1859 had consequences so disastrous for all the tribes established between Imi n Tanout and Amismiz, following incursions of plundering Arabs from the plain, that certain villages surrounded themselves with ramparts and rapidly built fortified enclosures, in the middle of which they hollowed out silos.

These small fortresses were besides most often inhabited by minor chiefs who emerged amidst the siba struggles and took responsibility themselves to ensure the defense of the common property. They were entirely different in nature and arrangement from the small agadirs of hamlets, whose ruins still exist.

Again it is necessary to distinguish from the collective storehouses of the fractions or villages other agadirs constructed by the Makhzen /makhzan/, at Amismiz, for example, and in which the tribes came to pay the "ᶜachour" /Koranic tax/. By a natural extension, the same name of agadir designates at present all the casbahs built by order of the sultans or by the chiefs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/.

343 But the political state of the country is not alone in entailing
712 the disappearance of the collective storehouses; it indeed seems
178 that economic causes, or perhaps simply the weakening of a long

/261 cont./

343 712 178 tradition, were sufficient to precipitate their ruin, even in the regions where the Makhzen /makhzan/ never penetrated. Thus it is that in the high valleys of the Atlas agadirs are no longer built; a certain number of fractions or villages do not possess any; each one more and more becomes accustomed to keeping in his house all his reserves of grain and walnuts. If one compares this slow disappearance with that which is still more marked in the country of the Ida Ou Tanan, situated out of the reach of the Sultan's harkas, it is doubtless permissible to think that we are in the presence, throughout the Atlas, of the progressive decline of an institution that in our day has kept its full vitality only in part of the central Anti-Atlas.

343 712 174 178 One could doubtless go further and try to follow in the past and in other regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ what the evolution of the collective storehouses could have been. Perhaps it is permissible to think that the custom of constructing these fortresses and leaving there /262/ the provisions that are not needed for daily existence is a legacy from the most ancient periods, having come from the time when the population, sedentary today, was still given to nomadism (1).

1. Cf. our study on "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

Whatever its origins may be, it is doubtless an institution whose decline, so apparent at present, permits judging the state of weakness into which in the Sous most of the traditions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics have fallen.

121 178 VII. Decline of the Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Sous.--Before trying to understand how the chiefs who will make the secular traditions disappear rise and grow in importance, thus facilitating the submission to the Sultan, we can cast our eyes once again on the province of the Sous, in which we have found the best examples of the organization of the independent tribes;

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178 enough, for one who knows how to see, to show the violence with which the two forms of political organization oppose each other.

178 712 At the entrance to a high valley, at Assarag of the Tifnout, it is a caliphate's casbah, imposing because of its mass and its crenelated towers, that bars one of the routes of the Atlas and gives the traveler the illusion of a former dwelling of the masters of the country. But the walls that support the borjs /towers/ crowned with merlons were still sheltering a collective storehouse of the canton ten years ago. The conquerors came, took possession of the agadir and its provisions; then the tribe assembled by their pains constructed an enceinte around, raised towers and whitened the walls, laid out chambers and rooms; in a few months a true feudal casbah thus appeared on the foundation of a canton fortress. A few passing years, moreover, have sufficed to split the earthen ramparts and to give the patina of time to this proud house.

178 361 *[631] At other times the transformation of the villages is spontaneous and the contrast is still more striking. There exist around the summits of the Sirwa small egalitarian republics that, in the solitude of the plateau, remain obstinately attached to their dream of old. One would search in vain, for example, in the [342] village of Amassin of the Ikhozzamen, for some feature that distinguishes the dwelling of the rich from that of the poor. Above [712] the 200 houses, whose line stretches out indefinitely and suggests the idea of a gigantic rabbit hutch, rises a handsome collective fortress, where a famous customary is carefully preserved, while the little senate, the "Alt ed-diwan," meeting in the enceinte, deliberates at length in order to regulate the common life.

178 361 •343 712 [726] But if one leaves the high plateau to gain, some hours' march southward, the valley of the Alt Atman, a surprising spectacle awaits us. In former times the agadir of Tinider, one of the most perfect and most celebrated storehouses because of its interior arrangement and its law, dominated a village similar to that of Amassin. Twenty years ago, during a glorious siege, the Alt Atman resisted in this large storehouse the assembled warriors of ten /265/ cantons and none had been able to reduce

/265 cont./

178 361 •343 712 [726] them. When the Glawa came, the sheik that they had chosen in the country received the order to make the old fortress, whose ruined walls are still visible today, disappear by pickax blows. Then, very quickly, the aspect of the village became unrecognizable. Amidst the houses, all alike, of the inhabitants of this old egalitarian republic, rise at present the dwellings of notables, adorned with corner towers and decorated in the Berbère /Berber/ manner with geometrical designs in whitewash. The new sheik of the Makhzen /makhzan/ gradually raised its walls higher, added borjs, crenelated the summits of the towers, and gave a more "feudal" appearance to his modest dwelling of former times. His young son, a handsome young man, having become the favorite of the master of Telwet, has inherited henceforth the paternal authority. Mounted on a handsome black horse, it is he who comes, with perfect ease, to welcome the guests. He dreams of a high position in the Makhzen /makhzan/, and while the "imzwarn," the notables of the village, formerly all-powerful, come together humbly around him to receive his orders, the walls are going up for a beautiful casbah that his father intends for him and that the whole canton is building by "touiza." When a person is acquainted with the past of this valley, he thinks he is dreaming upon embracing within a few hundred meters, with a single glance, first the ruins of the agadir of old, then the sheik's casbah proudly planted at the edge of the village, with its white borjs, as well as the new houses of the notables, his relatives, finally the large dwelling built like that of a great chief, which next year will house the minor amghar. Its proud towers, which the inhabitants of the country, assembled by order, are finishing before us, will dominate the remains of a democratic village that the children themselves remember.

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/302 cont./

descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion, without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Aït Atman," was in flight among the Aït Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Aït Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and constructing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great fortress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of the chief who conceived it.

At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "Aït Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult everywhere, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provisions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./

175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
•[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
578 Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the left of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
*634 the Atlas (1).
578
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1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this left obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse left of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

/380 cont./

tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment. Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi.

The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the 'Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
[578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[653] tenance of the seguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

[423] Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[166] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

343 712 [114] /303/ In the course of his travels carried out from 1902 to 1907 in the land of the Seksaoua and the Ida ou Mahmoud in the Haut Atlas Occidental /Western High Atlas/, Brives pointed out the existence of collective storehouses used in these high valleys by the Berbères /Berbers/ (1).

[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909.

[178] While these fortresses, to which one gives the name of agadir and which are intended for keeping the montagnards' provisions of grains and fruits, have almost all disappeared in the rest of the country, they have indeed stood intact to our day in this region neighboring the summits.

114 121 343 712 [648] After the submission of these tribes to France in 1927, it was possible for us, in the course of rounds carried out to reorganize the local command, to visit the villages and the agadirs. Without trying to make here a complete study of this institution of collective storehouses, difficult to carry out in too limited a time, it seemed interesting to us to describe the appearance and the arrangement of these curious constructions.

343 712 178 621 The collective storehouses are almost all in ruins up to within the highest part of the Asif of the Seksaoua. One finds an agadir still in use only at Ikis, in the fraction /local kin group/ of the Ait Haddiyous. On the other hand, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mahmoud they have remained very numerous. In the fraction of the Ida ou Izimer /sic/, those of Ankoutouf, Tanout, Tizzirt, Annoums, and Tamjlojt are still occupied and maintained; those of Tanouzekt and Tagenza are in ruins (2).

2. Thus each village has its own in this fraction.

In the fraction of the Ait Tounert, one finds those of Talmakant and Assaka still usable, those of Oualamanon, Ouaraben, Takrekhout in ruins.

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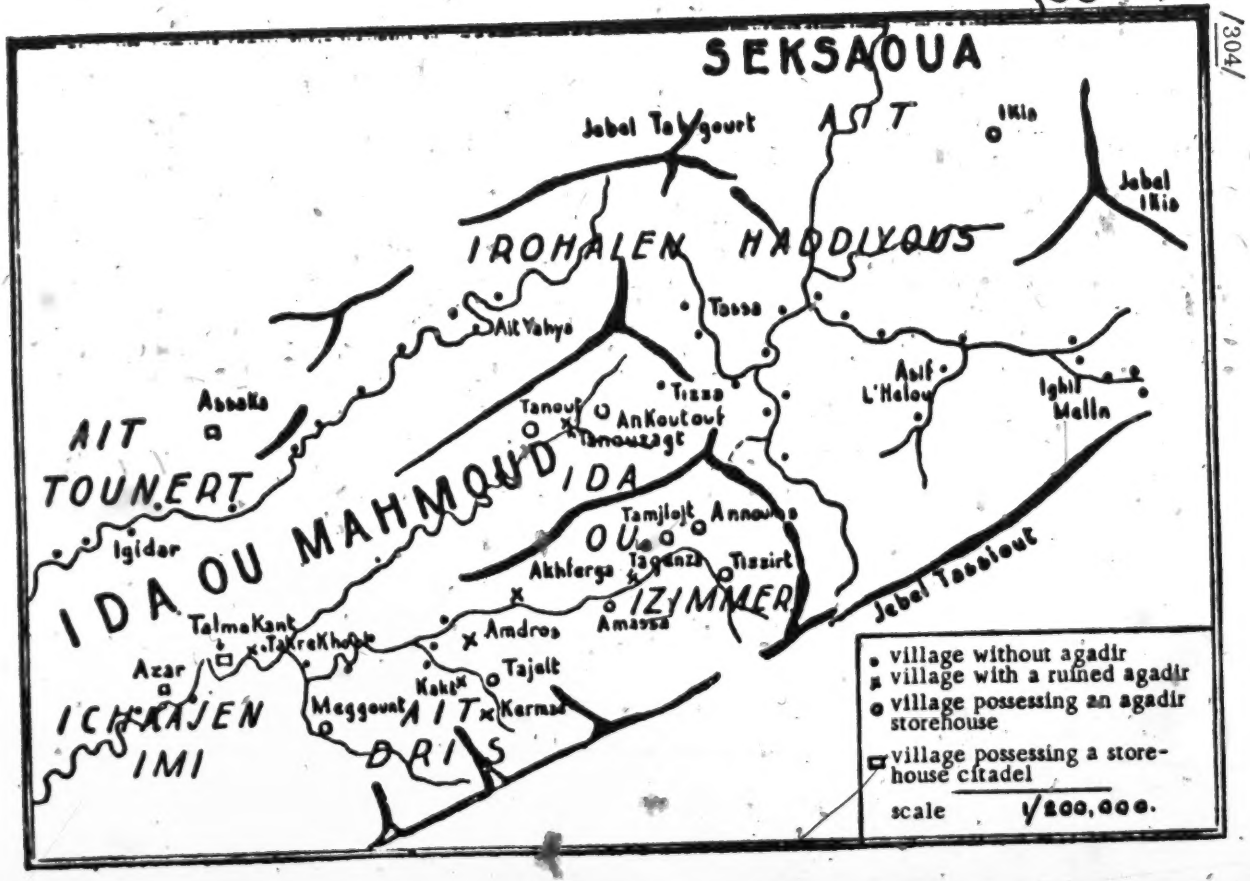

3: Dupas--2 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

343 712 [178] /305/ Among the Ichkajen Imi, a single agadir remains in use, that of Azar; another one, which is found at Arg, has been in ruins for eight years. Finally, there are still three occupied agadirs among the Ait Dris: those of Amassa, Tajelt Oufella, Meggount; others have been in ruins for a long time at Akhferga, Amdros, Kormad, and Kakt.

These agadirs are of two kinds. There are those that serve solely as storehouses, these are the most numerous; others are used both as storehouses and as réduits for defense in case of attack on the village. The latter are, in general, more spacious and have a rather extensive place in the interior, permitting the old men, women, children, and animals to stay in shelter while the able-bodied men occupy, for defense, the few storehouses pierced with battlements and the terraces. There is [312] always a cistern in the interior of these agadirs-fortresses. In this category are included the storehouses of Talmakant, Assaka, and Azar.

[333] In general the agadir is built with schist, which gives good slabs, rendering the construction easy: the stones are put together with a clay mortar. The walls are thick, blind, and high. The general shape is square or rectangular, except at Ikis, where [351] one finds an oval agadir. The terraces, jutting out, as everywhere in the mountains, are storied, given the slope of the terrain and the constant height of the walls. In the interior a series [417] of narrow passages gives access to the different storehouses; from these passages rise ladders formed simply by a tree trunk grooved with notches on which one places his feet. In front of the door of each storehouse situated in a story, a little platform projects out, which affords room for supporting the upper part of the ladder coming from below and for placing the lower part of the ladder, giving access to the higher story. These platforms are also useful to the owner of the storehouse for stopping before entering his room. Each chamber has only one door and no window.

343 712 124 [671] [178] We were unable to obtain information about any written rule of customary law concerning these agadirs. It is nevertheless practically certain that very old ones do exist, especially among

343 /305 cont./
712 the Ida ou Mahmoud, and with a little patience and perserver-
124 ance it will be possible to see them. But the custom is known
[178] by all, and it is enough to interrogate the users in order to obtain the desired information and explanations concerning it.

/306/ Agadir of Ikis (1)

[621] 1. Ikis is a village of 55 hearths. It is at the same time the most important village of the subfraction of the Ait Haddiyous formed by Ikis and the Ida ou Gerioun villages.

(Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fig. 13). -- It includes 74 chambers on
[351] two or three stories; ten almond trees grow in the interior court-
[245] yard. In good condition, it has nevertheless not been utilized any more for ten years; it served for storing nuts, raisins, peaches, and almonds. The successive poor harvests caused by frosts on
[434] the one hand, the rise in the cost of living on the other hand,
[432] forced the natives to sell a greater quantity of their products on the souq /sook/ in order to procure cotton goods, sugar, tea, and cereals for themselves. The agadir has therefore been less useful these last years, but if a good harvest of fruits should happen, such as has not been seen for a long time, the collective storehouse would be utilized anew.

The agadir is the common property of the people of Ikis.
[423] Each of them owns, by virtue of ancient rights, one, two, or
[621] three chambers; ten years ago, when the storehouse was in use,
[432] some chambers were sold -- very rarely -- or mortgaged. Each
[426] owner has the keys to his chambers. In calm periods the key to the entrance gate was deposited with the fqih of the mosque, who entrusted it to the users in case of need. In troubled periods
343 two guards were placed at the agadir. They were furnished by
712 the owners in turn, according to the number of chambers that
625 they owned, or then again they continued to stay and were then paid by all the users. The agadir, situated 300 meters from the

/306 cont./

343 712 [625] village, happened to be at the center of a cirque forming a resonator, the guards would hear any suspicious noises; in this case they would fire a few gunshots and help would arrive from the village; the prowlers would then run away. No one remembers that a theft has been committed in this agadir.

Agadir of Ankoutouf (Figs. 6, 7 and Fig. 14). -- It has 90 chambers, 60 of which are used, and three stories. It is especially well constructed and maintained. [821] It is the agadir of the village of Ankoutouf (48 hearths). [423] Each hearth owns one to three chambers; property deeds attest to these rights. [628] Four rooms are mortgaged, for a price that goes from 8 to 15 douros, [426] to some natives of Tizza, a village that does not have an agadir.

Each owner has the key to his rooms. The guard, who lives 343 712 625 inside the agadir with his family, has the key to the outer gate. He is appointed for a year as a rule and is changed in October; in general /307/ /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ /308 is blank/ /309/ /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /310 is blank/ /311/ he [465] stays longer if people are satisfied with his services. He receives a rba of barley per year and per occupied chamber. In case of 343 712 685 625 theft, the thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine. The responsibility of the guard is involved only if the theft was committed after breaking open the outer gate -- and in this case it is he who repays the amount of the theft and pays 50 douros as a fine; but if the thief found his way in through a breach made in the wall, the guard is not troubled. The fine is divided among the owners of the rooms. Since no check is made of the quantities stored in the rooms, the victim must, in case of theft, swear along with 24 coswearers in order to certify what has been taken from him.

343 712 [621] Agadir of Tanout (Fig. 5 and Fig. 15). -- Belongs to the village of Tanout (57 hearths). It contains 70 chambers on two or three stories. The two borjs /lookout towers/ are empty.

Same interior arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

3: Dupas--6 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 307 in the original source./

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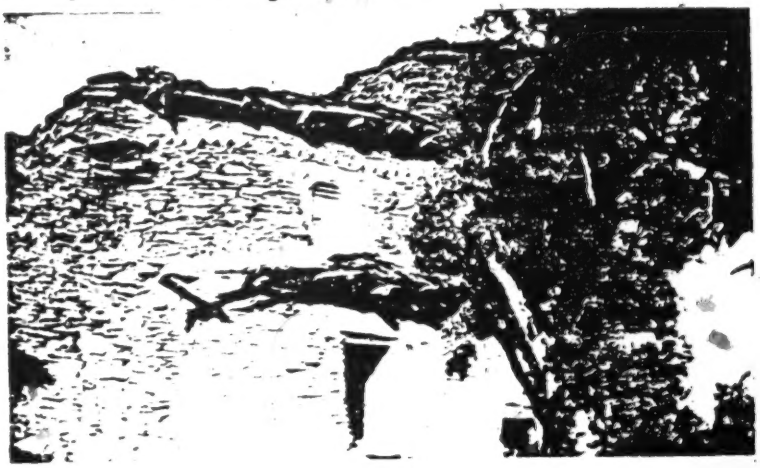

Fig. 1. -- Agadir of Ikis. Surrounding wall.

Fig. 2. -- Agadir of Ikis. Entrance gate.

3: Dupas--7 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 309 in the original source./

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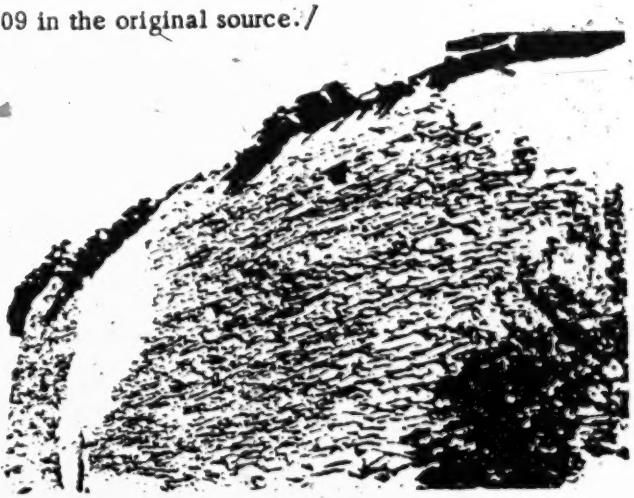

Fig. 3. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

Fig. 4. -- Agadir of Ikis. Interior view.

/311 cont./

-343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [84] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard [465] receives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two [312] stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.

/312 cont./

343 712 685 In case of theft, if the thief is discovered, he must, irrespective of the punitive sanction that is imposed on him by the amghar /leader/ of the fraction, indemnify his victims. If the theft was committed through a hole made in the wall and if the thief is not discovered, the village in the midst of which the agadir is built is held responsible and must indemnify the victims [625] of the theft. If the theft was committed after breaking open the entrance gate, the guard is held responsible, must indemnify the victims of the theft. The latter must bring 24 coswearers in order to certify the quantities that they declare was stolen from them.

343 712 Agadir of Amassa (Figs. 10, 11, 22). -- It belongs to the people of Amassa (80 hearths), contains 80 chambers, 3 of [621] which are on the fifth story, all are utilized; most of the doors [423] are painted and worked. A room is mortgaged for 10 to 50 [426] douros and is sold for up to 100. The guard receives a kharrouba [432] of barley per year and per room, except for three rooms on the [625] fifth story, which pay nothing. In addition, the guard is fed, as [465] the fqih of the mosque is at the present time in Berber country. He is supplied with three meals a day, each owner taking his [685] day in turn. The three rooms on the fifth pay nothing, but in return they have no right to indemnity in case of theft.

[358] Each owner is obliged to make the repairs necessary to maintain his room in good condition. Thus the owner of one /313/ /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /314 is blank/ /315/ /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /316 is blank/ /317/ /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /318 is blank/ /319/ /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /320 is blank/ /321/ chamber may take action against the one of the one below, if it should happen to collapse, or against the one of the room above, if it lets water coming from the terrace [685] leak through. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for [184] the agadir of Ankoutouf.

[621] Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Fig. 12 and Fig. 23). -- It be- [423] longs to the village of Tajelt Oufella (33 hearths). It comprises 60 rooms and four stories.

/From p. 313 in the original source./

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Fig. 5. -- Agadir of Tanout (Ida ou Izimmer), entrance gate.

[417]

Fig. 6. -- Agadir of Tanout. The terraces.

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/From p. 315 in the original source./

Fig. 8. -- Agadir of Annoums (Ida ou Izimmer). Interior.

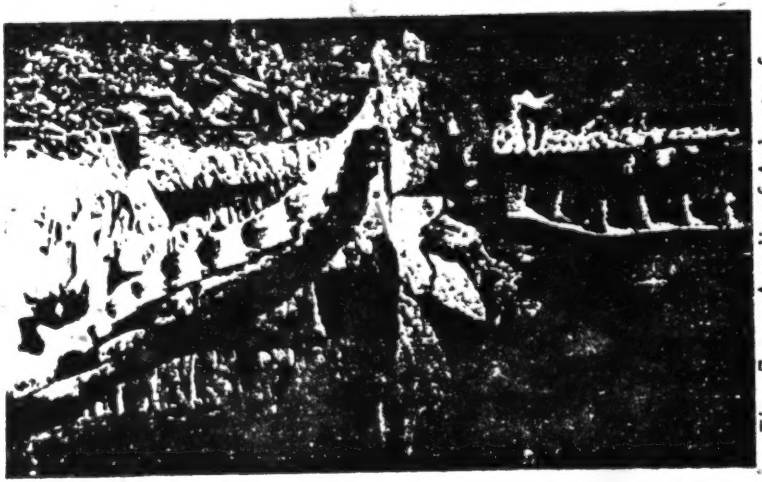

Fig. 7. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf. Interior.

3: Dupas--12 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From page 317 in the original source./

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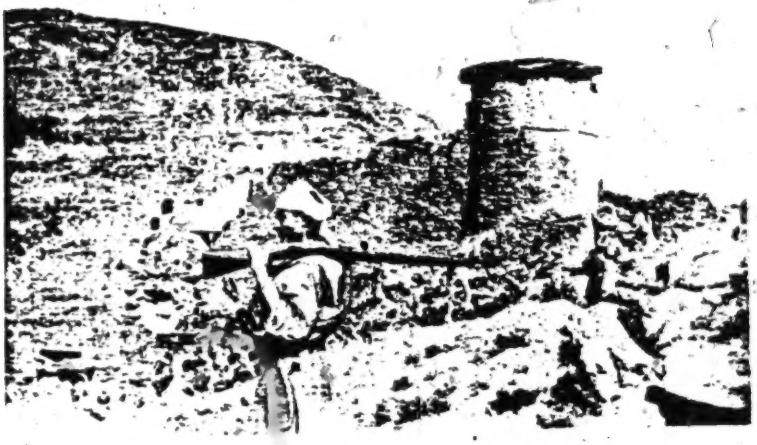

Fig. 9. -- Agadir of Amdros (Ait Dris).

Fig. 10. -- Agadir of Amassa. Interior.

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/From page 319 in the original source./

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Fig. 11. -- Agadir of Amassa (Ait Dris).

Fig. 12. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella (Ait Dris).

/321 cont./

343 712 625 [465] The guard is a volunteer who remains as long as he wishes, if the users are satisfied with his services. Every year he is given a half-kharrouba of barley per room, utilized or not; furthermore, he is fed by the owners of the chambers. A turn is established as follows: if there are three rooms in height, each owner in turn guarantees 3 meals a day; if there are four rooms in height, the owners of the highest and lowest ones together guarantee a day; the following day it is the owners of the middle chambers. [358] [184] The same rules as at Amassa are followed for the respective responsibility of the users in case of collapse or the infiltration of water. The guard is responsible only for thefts committed [685] after a break through the outer gate, not for those that have been made through a breach in the wall. The thief, if he is discovered, repays the amount of the theft and gives a cow that is divided among the owners, taking into account the number of chambers; the same rule is applied against the guard, if he is responsible. The victims of the theft provide 24 coswearers.

343 712 621 423 358 [685] [184] Agadir of Meggount (Fig. 24). -- It belongs to the inhabitants of the village of Meggount (80 hearths). The rules for its operation are the same as at Tajelt Oufella in what concerns poor maintenance and theft.

In all these collective storehouses, if repairs concerning the agadir itself and not only one room become necessary, all the co-owners are jointly liable. They carry out the work in common and, according to the number of shops they occupy, bear the costs caused by this repair, for the purchase of wood, the salary of the workers, or any other expenditure.

Imi n Tanout, 15 March 1928.

Lieutenant Pierre Dupas.

/Page 322 is blank, but precedes an unpaginated folded insert bearing Figs. 13-24./

3: Dupas--15 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

Fig. 13. -- Agadir of Ikis.

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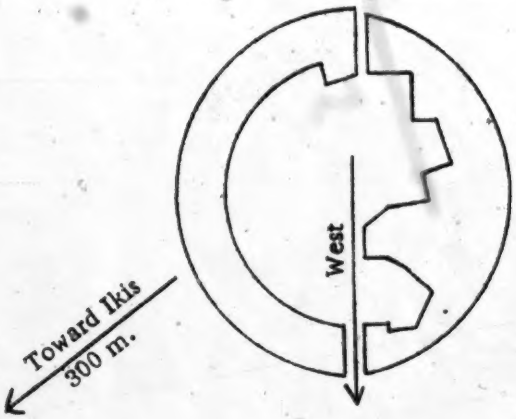

Fig. 14. -- Agadir of Ankoutouf.

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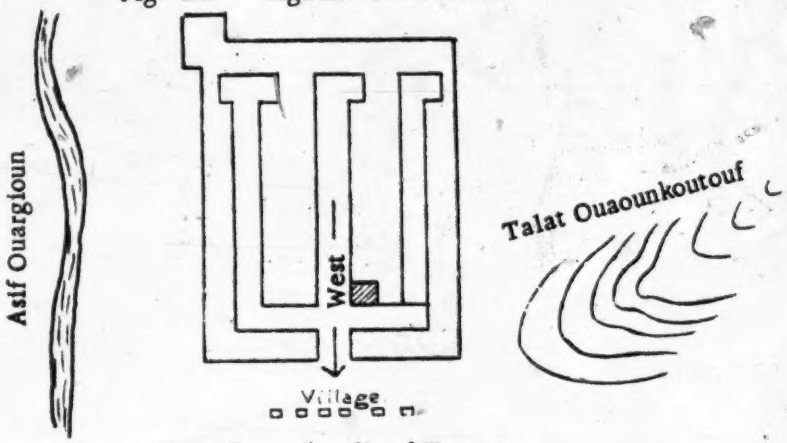
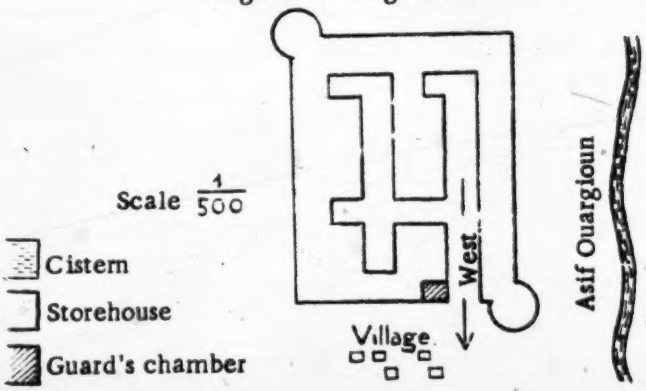


Fig. 15. -- Agadir of Tanout.



3: Dupas--16 G-5 (1927-1928) 1929 MW11 Shluh MW11

Fig. 16. -- Agadir of Talmakant.

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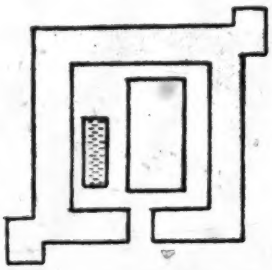

Fig. 17. -- Agadir of Assaka.

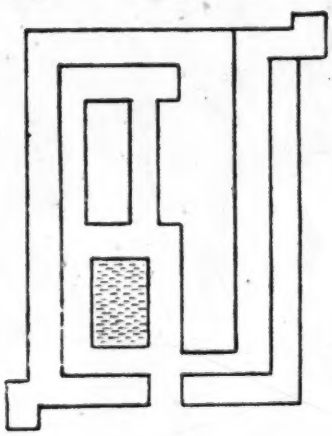

Fig. 18. -- Agadir of Azar.

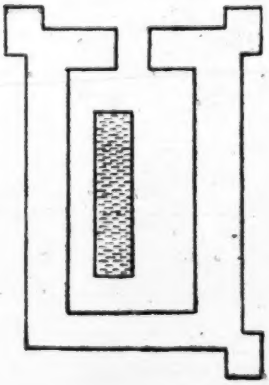

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Fig. 19. -- Agadir of Tizzirt.

Fig. 22. -- Agadir of Amassa.

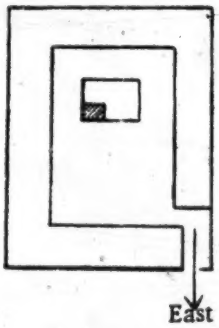


Fig. 20. -- Agadir of Annoums.

Fig. 23. -- Agadir of Tajelt Oufella.

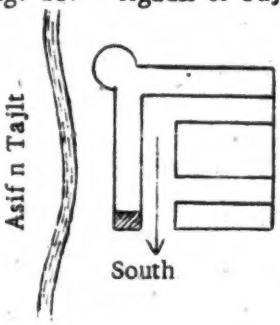
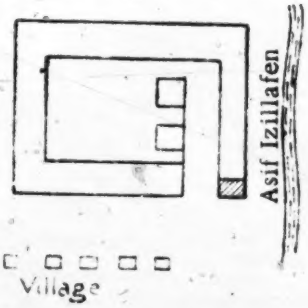


Fig. 24. -- Agadir of Meggount.

Fig. 21. -- Agadir of Tamjlojt.



4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

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161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000.
197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects:
101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged
361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth
342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified
343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

Among the sedentary tribes the importance and function of the commune varies greatly depending upon circumstances, particularly upon the nature and independence of the community units. Among the Haha (530-541) the settlement pattern is one of widely dispersed households, and nucleated communities are rare; furthermore all the minor lineages within a commune are generally related so that the commune is often equivalent to a major lineage. Under these circumstances the interest and requirements of the commune prevail over those of its component units, and the solidarity of the group is manifested by its sense of common origin, unity, and of *h'orma* or "honor" – the violation of which by an outsider sanctions a vendetta. The commune has a special mosque, a communal granary, a communal cemetery, and communal property such as that surrounding the settlements, pastureland, and brushwood forests (where the members obtain their cooking wood and where they can attempt to grow a crop of barley if they wish to gamble on unirrigated land). The commune is also characterized by a representative council, and an elected or appointed chief; its principal functions are the maintenance of the communal mosque as a religious center, a school, and a communal center; the maintenance of the granary; the maintenance of the cemetery and its enclosure, and the distribution of lots to the member families; the arbitration and adjudication of boundary and property disputes between its members; the division of inheritances; the maintenance or lodging of strangers; the distribution of irrigation water; the policing of cultivated fields and of fruit trees; the planning and regulation of communal labor for plowing, harvesting, forest clearing, or irrigation works; and providing officials for certain domestic ceremonies, particularly weddings (Doutté, 1905).

In situations where villages have assumed most purely local administrative functions, the commune – and the larger unit, the district – concerns itself more with problems of political stability – adjudicating and arbitrating disputes between its component units, administering the commune market, and generally maintaining the peace. Hart's description of the commune (*farīqath*) among the Beni Uriaguel (99), who have well-developed village organizations, reflects this difference in emphasis: